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585 house. The girl is referred to as *katumbo* (his wife), and the man as *kamalis* (her husband). Their relationship is described as *oning itara*, literally, "eat together," and this eating together seems to symbolize the marriage relationship. Frequently, in the folk-tales, we are told that a man and a woman, or a man and two women, sit down together and eat to express the fact that they are married. The life in common between a man and his wife is symbolized by the meals in common. Later, although both may have extra-marital relations with other people, they will not eat with these others.

CONSUMMATION OF MARRIAGE

585 During this interval after the marriage rites and before
832 the sexual consummation of the marriage, the man will usually make love magic so that his wife will desire him. Sometimes he merely gives her a certain leaf to smoke which is supposed to have magical properties, and over which no spell need be said. The *wulish* leaf is one of these. The man rolls the leaf between the palms of his hands and then puts it in the sun to dry. After it is dry he mixes it with some tobacco and gives it, via a third person (sometimes his mother), to his wife. She smokes it, and after that she desires him.[1] Until they have sexual relations there is "shame" between them. Tomerare told me about his experience in
585 his first sexual relationship with his wife Pakamus. She was
833 perhaps a year or so past puberty when he married her, and so was considered, as far as her age went, ready for sexual intercourse, and they immediately went to live together in the same house. After the marriage rites they ate together, but both were very shy. They were so filled with "shame" that they could scarcely look at each other. He gave her the *wulish* leaf to smoke, and on the third night after their marriage he woke her from sleep and they had

[1] Love magic will be discussed in detail in a following chapter.

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595 to-day it is the more usual type, although most of the adult, middle-aged men of Lesu had had two wives, and later, because of white influence, gave up one. There are, however, still about six households in the village where the marriage is polygamous.

837 While white contact may have influenced the form of marriage, it has had relatively very little influence on extra-marital intercourse. This continues much the same as it did in the past. Each man has his *affaires de cœur* outside of marriage, and his wife has hers at the same time. This is a social custom with all the force of tradition.

586 Divorce is also an important element in the marriage structure. It occurs fairly frequently, and either party may secure it. The marriage payment is always returned to the husband, and the children go with the mother, no matter who initiates the divorce. The reasons for a divorce, its frequency, and the social attitude toward it, will be examined in another section of the chapter. At this point we are interested only in the general configuration.

595 It is into this social structure of formerly polygamous marriages, which within the last few years have become in general monogamous (but with a certain number of polygamous unions still in existence), occasional polyandrous marriages, occasional divorce and much extra-marital intercourse on both sides, that the sexual life of these men and women is set.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS LOVE

832 To know what is meant in Lesu by falling in love, it is necessary to understand what the individual considers attractive in the opposite sex, how the man woos his mate, how she responds, and what are the details of their life together. These are to a large degree socially determined, i.e. there is a general unanimity on what is considered a beautiful woman, and there is a more or less standardized

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procedure to woo her. But it must also be remembered that there exists here, as elsewhere, the always unpredictable element of mutual attraction between two individuals of opposite sex.

ATTRIBUTES OF BEAUTY

In discussing it, whether he is telling about his present love or a past one, or talking more abstractly about women in general, the Lesu man says that what he considers most desirable in a woman is youth, firm, well-developed breasts, and a light-coloured skin. To a woman the desirable qualities in a man are also youth, light-coloured skin, and she prefers men with small eyes and without beards. The natives are keen to discern varying shades of skin colour, and they notice slight variations in shade more sharply than the average white person. Time after time old men informants, in giving me the spells of love magic, told me about the women for whom they formerly practised it, and always they stress the light-coloured skins of their loves as a great attribute of beauty. Young men stress the same point in talking of the girls they now desire.

The reason that both sexes desire their partners to be young is that they are then more vigorous in the sexual act. Particularly do the women stress this point. There is, for example, an attractive young widow named Pengong, with two children. She has made advances to many of the rather young unmarried youths of the village, all of whom have willingly been her lovers, but they refuse to marry her because they say she is too old, while she refuses to marry a man of her own age or older. However, it is doubtful if she will stay unmarried long, and eventually she will probably marry a man of her own age. Brakko, an older woman who remarried after she became a widow, told me frankly that she preferred young men, but that after her first husband

832 [587] died she married a fairly mature man. She added that she liked him, too.

The firmness of a woman's breasts is much stressed. The breasts are uncovered, and so are very obvious. A middle-aged woman's breasts which hang loosely are not objects of beauty by any aesthetic standards.

832 302 The hair, which is kinky and stands out from the head, is an important factor in beauty, and much time and attention are put on it. The natural colour of the hair is black, but it is very rarely that it is seen in this colour. It is the universal custom for both sexes of all ages to "paint" their hair with powdered white lime, and the result is a great variety in shades of tan, depending on when it was last "painted." [1] The hair is frequently combed, and if a native wants to make himself particularly attractive he spends hours on his hair, combing, "painting" it, etc. A flower behind the ear, a wreath of leaves around the head, are all considered adornments.[2] Practically everyone has lice, and [515] looking for each other's lice is a never-ending pastime between friends. A bald-headed man is considered an object [142] of ridicule and very ugly. He is a most unusual type, and there were none in Lesu. I had for a short time a Papuan cook-boy who was bald. He tried to seduce some of the village women, but without success. They all laughed at him, and mocked him openly for his baldness. He was also short, another point not in his favour. He finally took to boasting of his conquests on other islands where he had worked, but this, too, left the village belles untouched. Women prefer clean-shaven men to bearded ones. In the

[1] For many of the ritual dances the hair is "painted" red or blue. A few of the more sophisticated natives who have been to Rabaul have learned the whitening effect of peroxide, and use it whenever they can procure it.

[2] I gave them some tinsel (Christmas-tree decoration) and gaily coloured crêpe paper. Both were immediately put around the hair in the fashion of a crown and were much in demand.

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past shaving, or rather the extraction of hair, was done with a shark's tooth. It is still used to-day, but when possible a razor blade is obtained from a trader. Finger-nails are shortened by biting them.

In addition to hair decorating there are facial decorations, and the favourite style for both sexes is the painting of a yellow circle around one eye. A broad band of white lime on the forehead is likewise considered attractive. There are other types of facial adornment which are used only in connection with ritual dancing and are described in that context.

The familiar disease, ringworm, makes a person of either sex undesirable for marriage, but not for intercourse. For example, Landa, from the village of Langania, was married when quite young, and her husband died after a brief period. Afterwards she contracted the ringworm disease. For quite a few years now she has been noted for her many lovers, by some of whom she has had children, but none of these lovers will marry her because of her skin disease. The sexual act may be performed with a minimum of body touching, but the men are afraid of catching the disease if they marry her. However, just before I left New Ireland Landa married an elderly man, who, I was told, could get no one else. Aside from the ringworm and a rather large stomach, she was not unattractive, and seemed to have a pleasant and rather vivid personality, and was one of the most energetic and industrious of the women at the communal food preparations.

In general, the physical parts of the body which have aesthetic and sexual attraction for the Melanesian in New Ireland do not differ so much from those of our own culture. They are mainly health, the breasts, the colour of the skin, and the hair. Eyes are also regarded as of importance, and small ones are considered the most attractive.

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LOVE MAGIC

832 The approach of a man toward a woman he desires is primarily through magic. Personal beauty, adornment, and "flirting" are all of assistance, but to the native real success depends upon magic. When a man wants to possess a certain woman he makes a magical spell for her, or if he does not know one he will pay a man famed for his love magic to make one. There is no particular difference in its efficacy if the lover makes it himself or has someone else do it for him. But the spell must be made, for without it no man can hope to win a woman. While it is more common for a man to make magic for a woman, there are also spells for a woman to court a man.

832 826 828 Underlying the use of love magic is a physiological theory that the seat of passion and all emotion is in the stomach, and that the spell causes a woman's abdomen to become agitated and desire the man, and that then her whole body becomes excited and wants him. The girl may be miles away when the spell is performed, but that night she dreams of the man and the next morning she desires him. Then she usually sits in a kind of lethargy and will not eat, smoke, talk, or work, or go through any of the other normal routine occupations of the day. Instead she merely sits, languid and dreamy, sometimes weeping, and is afraid she will die if she does not get to the man. Finally she can stand it no longer and goes to him.

832 539 A few of the spells follow.

Kerum timaniga
Kandum kumbetitia
Nulis imbamb
niso rae noso rum goorum so rym
Ti ini so rum

Freely translated: "Go, go down the neck, into the

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stomach, the liver, and the spleen. Make her mouth round, the mouth of the girl." The rounding of the mouth appears to refer to the fact that when the spell has taken effect the mouth will not go through its normal functions of eating, smoking, etc.

Another spell is made over the *kuskus* leaf, of which the straw aprons formerly worn by the women were made.

Lungstora Tsanatsoa
galin galin ta
galin galin sombim
Tulumurutk
Liw nor tulumurutk
roro roro mating diwwairung mu roro

Fly to Tsanatsoa (name of girl for whom spell was being made), go, go in her eye, go, go down her chest. Make her inside "hot." Last four lines repeated.

She will think only of this man. Blood, blood, carry spell down to the stomach and liver.

The last two lines are repeated many times with the head on the arms.

The above spell is said over the leaf, and for this spell the girl should be present. The magician slaps her chest with the leaf and then throws it away into the bush. This action indicates that it will be a temporary "affair," and that the girl will eventually return to her husband. Should the magician throw the leaf on the fire, however, it indicates that the girl will stay with her lover and not return to the husband.

The following spell is said over the *tsil* leaf, which is then hung up in the men's house over the fire. Just as there will be smoke if the fire burns the leaf, so will

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the stomach of the girl become "hot" or excited and want the man.

Tsiri m lo inu wango (repeated many times)
Indei belmur san
Tuk li munga and di munga lolo belel.

Leaf go down into the windpipe and to the stomach. She sneezes. She sits down. Her stomach becomes hot with desire.

Another spell is said only at night. After it the two will have much intercourse, and later marry. Should either one or both be married, they will leave their mates.

Nungo win kapun nungo nuno terangalae terangalae
san tel manutsili sungansa n alol bunbung
Mahisis alsol ridi.

Translated freely this is: As the phalanger runs swiftly, so will the spell go quickly to the stomach of the woman, and she will then run quickly to the man. Later they will be married.

The following spell is made usually at the time of the *malanggan* rites, but it would also be effective at any other time. The man chants the spell.

Landut meta ninut meta
sipumembe rim lo malo.

Landut is the name of a bird that calls out in the afternoon. "Then the woman will think about the man. Her stomach will become excited, and her skin will want to come to the man." After this spell, which may be chanted several miles from where the woman is, she will come to him in the men's house. If he is alone they

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may have intercourse there, otherwise they will go to the bush.

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There is one spell which is used to make a woman get rid of a man, usually a rival. In one case observed, however, the lover used it against himself as he wished the woman to leave him and go back to her husband. The spell is said over the leaf *kiliga*.

Mei kadunglawi
Mei tsalsil lawi

Then the personal name of the man is called.

Leaf, take away. Leaf, take away (name of man). The leaf is then put in a place where the woman will see it. When she sees it, not knowing the spell has been made over it, she will kick it aside with her foot. This symbolizes the getting rid of the man.

There is some love magic which has no spell connected with it. A man will touch a coconut with his penis and then give the coconut to the woman to eat. After this she will desire him.

All the above magic is usually used by a man in his extra-marital affairs, but it is customary also for a man to make magic towards a newly acquired wife just before the marriage is consummated.

While women use love magic to win a man, it is not nearly as prevalent as the use of magic by men. Five men in the village were famed for their knowledge of love magic, while only one woman had a knowledge of this kind. This was Kanua, now very old, but with the reputation of having been an expert. She is now rather feeble and does not practise her spells, but she thoroughly enjoyed telling me about them, and her eyes gleamed as she recited them. She regrets

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• 832 539 that she has forgotten much of her knowledge and that her mind is not as clear as it was. Here are some of her spells, as well as she could remember them.

The following is said over her straw apron, *Avarunga*:

Ĵawa ila tsarriri, ila tsarriri lasmero, avarunga.

I like the man, I like the man. Apron go find him.

Another also said over the straw apron:

Larona mumu jamdi masso wana sua
A lili si Larona urenunga urensanganu.

Man you are behind me, you follow me;
You want me. You come from behind to me.

The following is said over a banana which the woman gives the man to eat. After that he desires her.

Undi jänton jure
kandudu muta
unda unda muta i undi
undi tsoro undi tsoro, tamuth tsoro.

Eat the banana
I look at him
I give him the banana
As the banana is with me now,
so will the man be with me.

The following spell is said at sunrise, just before participating in *malanggan* dancing rites, and its effect is to make the desired man want her:

But but tsinanliru
Tsinanliru teranungbilanen
but but tsinanliru.

Foot foot go
Go now
Foot foot go.

This refers to the dancing to attract men.

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Another spell:

Gulelin m diguri unali twang ni umtawangni

I will hang by the neck unless you get up and come to me.

There are also several rites unconnected with any spell. A woman will smear some blood from her breast, which she purposely cuts, on a baked taro and give it to a man to eat. He eats it unknowingly, and then desires her.

Or a woman may take some hair from her armpits and put it on a baked taro, which she then gives to the man to eat. After that he likes her.

The spells recited by the women are of quite a different nature from those used by the men. The latter are all concerned with their effect on making the woman's abdomen (the seat of her emotions) desire the man, while those which the women recite are much simpler, and are not concerned with the abdomen. They merely wish that her straw apron, or her dancing, or a banana over which a spell has been made, will make the man follow her. The love magic used by the women is considered subsidiary to that used by the men, which is the fundamental or principal love magic.

There is also magic of revenge for a jilted lover. At sunrise, or just before, the jilted man rolls a *tsil* leaf in his hand and ties it in a knot. He hides near the house of the woman and watches where she urinates. Then he goes to this place and passes the knotted leaf through the woman's urine which has been deposited there. Now the leaf is put in the cemetery and left there for the day. The next day he takes it to the bush and leaves it in one of the rain pools there. After a while the leaf will stink, as all the bush pools become stagnant in a short time. At the same time the woman's vagina will become sore and itch, so that she cannot

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754 578 work. Should the man repent and wish to make her well, he takes the leaf out of the pool, throws it away, then makes a cut in the *beranot* tree, allowing the sap to run out. The woman then becomes better.[1]

Another magic spell of revenge made by a man whose advances to a woman have been turned down is directed against her when she becomes pregnant. He takes a piece of strong vine and knots it twice. This knotted rope is then stuck in the ground at the entrance either to the woman's house or garden. The woman walks unheedingly over it. Then the man takes the rope to his house, pulls the knots tighter, which indicates the death of the unborn child, and sometimes of the woman also, and hangs it from the ceiling where it catches the smoke from the fire. To counteract the effects of this rite the knots must be untied and the following spell said over white lime placed in half a coconut shell:

Tsabu beriga
Tsigi beriga.

Tsabu is the name of a plant which when cooked evaporates into nothing. The spell reads:

Tsabu, go quickly.

Child, go quickly.

832 No native ever doubts the efficacy of love magic, or for that matter of any other magic. Its power is infallible, unless some other magician should make some counteractive magic. One old man before giving me his spells looked all around my house to make sure that one of my servants, a young woman, was not present. He explained that he did not want her to overhear his spells, for, he went on, he was an old man now and did not want any "affairs" or "trouble."

[1] The man who gave me this magic said that he had used it once and the woman against whom it was directed had become ill.

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Therefore he would be careful. When he was finally assured that my servant was not within hearing distance he recited his spells. §32●

Of course, a man does not make magic for a woman, or *vice versa*, whom he has not seen. Some preliminaries of courtship have passed between them. One of them at least has been attracted to the other, and sometimes the attraction may be mutual. It is then that the lover uses magic.

FLIRTING

There are ways of showing one's desires which correspond to our "flirting." For instance, a man may pull a piece of straw from a woman's straw apron and stick it in his arm-band. If the woman likes him she will pull it back. Or a man may make a small gift of betel-nut or a necklace of dog's teeth to his mistress. Borrowing fire is a frequent excuse for visiting a woman. A man will put his fire out in order to have an excuse to borrow a lighted faggot from a woman whom he desires to see.

A woman's method of leading a man on is the not very subtle one of exposing her genitalia. Sometimes she is in earnest, really wanting the man, as when one Lesu woman very simply and directly went up to a man from a bush village, exposed her genitalia and placed it next to him. They had intercourse, and later were married. At other times a woman may merely lead a man on for the fun of it. §32 522
A tale of how two girls "devilled" one man was told to me by one of the women. Both are women of social importance, one being the wife of a former chief, and both are now grandmothers. With eyes gleaming with merriment over the tale, she related how she and another young woman were sitting by the *liga* and had tossed up their straw aprons and so exposed themselves. A man came up to take a baked taro from the *liga*, and seeing them he immediately had an

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832 erection. He wanted to have intercourse with them, but they refused and said they were just playing. They told him to 522 come closer and take the taro, but he only swayed back and forth in pain. Later the women lay down on a path in the bush and exposed themselves again. Once more the man saw them, had an erection, and wanted them. Again they refused and said they were only playing.

This tale was told to me without embarrassment, very dramatically, and amid shouts of laughter. A group of seven or eight women were present. Although all of them knew the tale, they laughed appreciatively at it and thoroughly enjoyed its re-telling, including the participant. The presence of several young children was taken for granted, and they too laughed, although not quite so heartily or understandingly as their mothers.

832 It has already been noted how the women use the same device of exposing themselves during their dancing, when they are feeling very gay, and how it is sometimes followed by intercourse.

SEX ACTIVITIES

833 The actual details of intercourse are naturally the same in or out of marriage, although some of the preliminaries may vary. A husband and wife each have their separate bed, [513] never sleeping in the same one. In the past the woman slept in her straw apron, and to-day she sleeps with her loin-cloth on, as does also the man. When the man desires his wife he goes to her bed, and when he has finished returns to his own bed almost immediately. The woman never takes the initiative in going to her husband's bed, and when asked the question my women friends regarded such a procedure with horror, and asked if the woman should be a man.

The woman lies flat on her back with legs outstretched and as wide apart as possible. The man squats or kneels between her wide-open legs and supports himself by grasping

159 was born. They both died in her early childhood, and she continued living on the plantation, very much the protégée of her "master" and "mistress," owners of the plantation. She slept in their house, and her "mistress" locked the door to Taiti's room every night, so that no men could have access to her. Taiti was carefully guarded according to white standards, and for a time, therefore, had nothing to do with men. Then one man working on the plantation made love magic to get her. He recited a spell over an aromatic leaf, [832] which he then wore, and the wind blew the fragrance of the plant to Taiti, and then she was in love with him. Taiti told her "mistress" that she wanted this man, and so the two were married and continued working on the plantation.

159 This marriage only lasted a short time. There was a divorce and she remarried. She became pregnant now, and 845 near the end of her pregnancy another man wanted to have intercourse with her. She refused because she was pregnant, and he was angry at the refusal. The would-be [154] lover made magic of revenge over a betel-nut which he placed by her door. Unsuspectingly she walked over the nut, and as a result, she says, the child died in her womb. (The child was born dead two days later.)

159 Taiti later became friendly with a half-caste Chinese-Melanesian in Rabaul, who seduced her with love magic. 837 This consisted of putting a leaf over which he had said a [832] spell in a glass of beer which he gave her to drink. It was her first taste of beer, and that night she dreamt she was having intercourse with him, and the next day she desired him. Before he had made advances to her, but she had always rejected him. Now she went to him.

From now on she had many husbands and even more lovers, but she had a special fondness for the Chinese half-caste.

159 She is now middle-aged, and says that she is through with men. But this is obviously just "talk." She is very vain,